NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
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Vol. 8, No. 21 NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 12, 1956

CAMPUS QUEEN DORA LEE MARTIN
Iowa State U. students woke up and saw beauty (see p. 5).

POLITICS

Ike's yes widens both party splits; main issues hidden

By Elmer Bendiner

WHEN THE PRESIDENT on Feb. 29 told the nation he would be a candidate he sparked speculation on two points: How strong is the President's heart? And does it really belong to Richard Nixon?

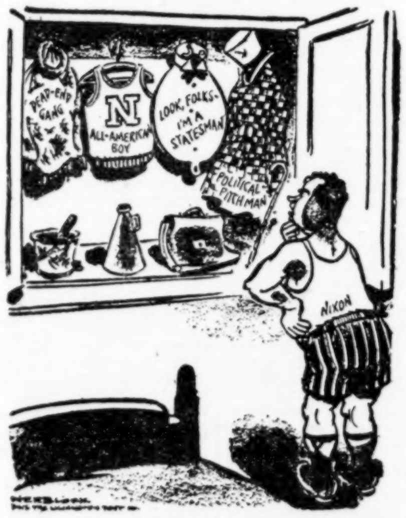
The heart question gave the Democrats their first big clear-cut issue with the Republicans and their spokesmen quickly promised a vigorous if somewhat morbid campaign on that point. Paul M. Butler, Democratic Natl. Chairman, said the President himself had made his health an issue. Candidate Adlai Stevenson charged that Eisenhower is now and plans to be a "part-time President." Averell Harriman, still campaigning "inactively," thought the President was "preoccupied with his health" and that therefore everyone else ought to be. One unidentified Democratic spokesman warned grimly that the President had better not be late for any TV appearances.

THE "RUGGED" TEST: The Republicans prepared themselves with cardiograms for the debate. An "inside story" by Charles Finston of the Chicago **American** told how the President "literally put his body under fire and passed with flying colors" during his ten days on Treasury Secy. Humphrey's Georgia plantation where he made up his mind to run. Finston called the ten-day quail-shoot "an inventory period unmatched in the history of the nation's presidents." He said the President

"... found he was able to shoot 18 holes of golf and hunt quail for six hours, all in one day, the most rugged of the ten-day 'test' period. On top of that Ike played bridge, one of his favorite indoor games, until 1:30 a.m."

More controversial than the President's heart was his vice-president. He said his respect for Nixon was "unbounded" and that he was "very fond of him." But he also declined to say he would have him on the ticket again and indirectly reprimanded Nixon by

(Continued on Page 4)



Herblock in Washington Post
"Let's see—what'll I wear today?"

LABOR

AFL-CIO fails to give full support to strikes

By Lawrence Emery

> *"It may interest you to know that . . . I never went on strike in my life. I never ran a strike in my life. I never ordered anyone to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line."*
> —AFL-CIO President George Meany to a gathering of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers.

LAST WEEK PICKET LINES were haunting the high command of the merged U. S. labor movement but there were no signs that George Meany had altered his attitude toward strikes. In fact, while scabs were using automobiles as battering rams against pickets, Meany was lunching in Washington with Charles R. Sligh Jr., chairman of

(Continued on Page 10)

WILL THE ICC PLEASE TAKE NOTICE?

Rail wrecks raise questions

The following article by John Harriman, financial editor of the Boston Globe, *appeared on p. 1 of the* Globe *Feb. 29.*

TIME was when air travel seemed to offer uncertainties, both as to time and safety. But that was several years ago. Today it is the Pullman and day coach which get you to your destination no one knows when . . . or at what risk to life and limb, judging by the recent rash of train wrecks.

We wonder what the Interstate Commerce Commission is doing.

MAINTENANCE CUT: 1954 was, of course, a bad year for most of the roads, in the East at least, compared to 1953.

Pennsylvania saw its net drop from $37,000,000 to $18,500,000 for instance, and the Boston & Maine dropped from a profit of $1,800,000 to a deficit of $500,000. Only New Haven among the Eastern carriers was able to hold its position against the previous year, and that by certain bookkeeping transactions which have been the subject of considerable comment.

In response to this drop in net, the roads in the East slashed their spending in 1954 for maintaining their rights of way, structures and equipment . . . and slashed deeply.

The Pennsylvania, including depreciation, cut way and structure maintenance from $141,500,000 in 1953 to $96,700,000 in 1954 . . . and the Boston & Maine from $15,500,000 to $15,000,000 . . . and the New Haven from $27,500,000 to $19,600,000.

Cuts were equally severe in maintenance of equipment. The Pennsylvania from $230,300,000 to $181,800,000 . . . the B. & M. from $13,300,000 to $12,000,000.

Last year, 1955, business picked up, of course. But, by and large, with the exception of the Pennsylvania, which had cut the most, the roads continued to skin down maintenance, even below the 1954 level.

PUBLIC HAS A RIGHT: These cuts have resulted in the roads making a handsome showing . . . for their stockholders.

Net for the Pennsylvania in 1955 was $41,000,000 compared to $18,000,000 in 1954. Boston & Maine earnings rose from a deficit of $500,000 to a profit of over $3,000,000.

But the public relying on the Eastern railroads for transportation are not quite so happy, and, looking about them they see nothing which is even remotely handsome.

Yesterday the B. & M. met with disaster. Only a short time ago, the Pennsylvania. The New Haven, too, has had its troubles. We do not know how many, if any, of those wrecks are due to lower maintenance.

But on every hand are complaints about service, about trains hours late, cold cars, bad food in the diners, and a general disintegration of railroad passenger traffic.

We are not an accountant, and certainly no rail analyst. But surely the public has a right to know a little more of the whys, wherefores, and how comes, of the railroad service it is getting today.

Wasn't the Interstate Commerce Commission set up with the idea of regulating the roads in the public interest?

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Vol. 8, No. 21 178 MARCH 12, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

'Eastlandism' and us

ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE is a report by the Rev. Harry F. Ward on efforts to flood the country with a "Handbook" published by the Eastland Committee aimed at organizing vigilante attacks on liberal activities.

Up Syracuse way, in New York State, the daily **Post-Standard** has been serializing the 100-page "Handbook" and of course has received the approval of the Onondaga County American Legion in a letter from John K. Dungey, chairman of its "Anti-Subversive Committee."

But Mr. Dungey knows there will be a fight ahead, and appends the following to his letter:

"We have already had the phony Communist cry of 'McCarthyism.' Now watch for 'Eastlandism,' which will be the same cry . . . and to the National Guardian goes the credit for naming it."

WE HAPPILY ACCEPT this peachy impeachment and will now go on to report how "Eastlandism" has started working right in the Syracuse area, in the town of Solvay, in Onondaga County.

In the Solvay Senior High School students in the social studies class undertook to enter a class subscription to the N.Y. **Times.** The **Times** was the main target of the Eastland Committee attack on the press last December and January.

Early this month the Solvay Board of Education forbade the use of the **Times** in the social studies class on the initiative of Board member John Martino, who cited a "Communist slant" in **Times** news stories. The Board added that the paper was too much to read and offered "no material benefit to the children as it was too intellectual" and took "too much time from other studies." The Board of Education action was taken by a vote of 2-1, with two members refusing to vote on it. In protest the teacher involved, G. Scott Cree, handed in his resignation effective at the end of the semester. Perhaps not incidentally, the initiator of the ban is the auditor of the Syracuse **Post-Standard.**

THE **TIMES** CAN FIGHT its own battles in Solvay or wherever else it may be attacked, and we expect it will. In its decorous way the **Times** has already expressed editorial disapproval of Senator Eastland's ascendancy to the head of the Senate Judiciary Committee and in the news columns has done a pretty good job of listing the Senator's sins against the people and the state.

But what interests us especially is the credit given the GUARDIAN by the Legion for spearheading the "Eastlandism" attack. If a paper with some 50,000 readers can be that effective, it is surely worth your consideration how much tougher this paper could be with twice 50,000—then twice that, and so on.

Every newspaper like ours in all history has fondled the hope that some day, somehow, it will come to pass that "Every reader gets a reader!"

We now present that hope again, for the umpteenth time.

YOU CAN GET A NEW GUARDIAN READER TODAY! Why not do so, today? There is a sub blank right on the opposite page—the introductory price is only $1. This is one way you can add now to the voices which can and will boo Eastland and his "ism" right off the stage of American life.

THE MAIL BAG

Clearance problem

HARTFORD, CONN.

Did President Eisenhower have to wait until Dr. Paul Dudley White had security clearance before he examined the President when he had his coronary thrombosis attack? Dr. White, as a Special Consultant to the Surgeon General, must pass a security examination. Was the law violated? Or was Chief Cop Hoover awakened in the dead of night to look into the folder of Dr. White in the FBI file?

How crazy can Congress get?

Government employe

Sandburg's Lincoln

FLUSHING, N.Y.

Every year on Lincoln's birthday I have become accustomed to the sorry and sacrilegious spectacle of reactionary politicos, usually of Republican Party persuasion, claiming Abe Lincoln as their very own. But this anniversary of the "Great Emancipator" has been disappointing to me yet in another way and stems from hearing Carl Sandburg at New York's Cooper Union Great Hall (where Lincoln himself spoke in 1860).

In the name of Lincoln, Sandburg pleaded for a moderate approach to the problem of student integration in the schools of the South. I do not profess to know what has happened to the thinking apparatus of the quondam socialist, Sandburg, to make him support so spineless, gutless and ineffectual approach to so critical a problem, but I'll bet that if "Honest Abe" were alive he would have rigorously denounced such an approach. If the Lincoln tradition has any meaning for us today, then it certainly means no abandonment of principle, or appeasement of those who want to flout the law and deny equal rights and equal treatment for all. **David Veritas**

Ezra's game

TOLNA, N.D.

Ezra Taft Benson's bankrupt sliding-scale farm price does not leave a farmer much choice. Acreage cuts of leading farm crops do not leave enough for a farmer to sell in order to get enough net return to pay for operating his farm—and leave enough for himself and family to live a decent standard of living.

Some people get the impression that all farmers have a gold mine and live in the land of honey and gold—being so falsely informed by those who want them to believe all this falsehood, and keep us all separated for easier pickings for the gold lovers. **Fred E. Schmidt**

Adlai's comeback

NEW YORK, N.Y.

More power to your exposure of Adlai's crawfishing on the civil rights issue. There now seems to be a de facto united front on this question extending from George Meany to the Daily Worker—certainly cause for rejoicing.

But when Bendiner notes with apparent disapproval that Stevenson replied to labor's questions on Taft-Hartley with another question: "How many Democratic congressmen will you send me from California?" I believe he is being unreasonable. It was a sensible thing to ask. Had Adlai said that he would "get rid of the Taft-Hartley problem" without reference to the composition of Congress he would have been an out-and-out demagogue.

Even if Stevenson were far more militant than he is, he could be hamstrung by a conservative Congress. A consistently liberal government in this country will require political organization and participation by labor and its allies before, during and after elections.

It will also, I think, require a frontal attack on the South; until democracy is established in that region, any liberal national government will start off with at least one strike against it. I'd like to see the GUARDIAN adopt a permament running slogan:

"Organize the South!"

Bob Claiborne

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

U. S. ARMY
TANK PERISCOPE
39 CENTS

Frankly this is the best item we ever carried. It's of no particular value, yet we have sold thousands of them.

Volume Sales Co. ad.,
Los Angeles Free Press, Jan. 26.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: D. S., Los Angeles. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Official disinterest

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Relative to the informative Kumar Goshal article, "The Facts About Those Balloons," please consider adding a note to it pointing out that the "private" outfit, Crusade for Freedom, enjoys official approval and help as is well proved by the display for many months in post offices, in buses, and on TV of a poster that reads:

"Fight Communism with Truth Dollars; Give to Crusade for Freedom, c/o your Local Postmaster."

Ralph Miller

Pen-pal wanted

DUBLIN, EIRE

Will you please publish my appeal for a pen-friend? I would like to correspond and exchange books and newspapers with an American girl of about my own age (24).

I first saw your excellent paper recently when a friend gave me a few back numbers. I am now passing them on to people whose only knowledge of American life comes from Hollywood.

P. Lloyd
c/o 58 St. Jariath Road, Cabra, Dublin

Southern pride

BELHAVEN, N.C.

I am a white Southerner and I am very proud indeed to be an alumnus of the University of North Carolina, where Negroes were welcomed, and not of the University of Alabama, where a solitary Negro coed was stoned. **Vernon Ward**

Mighty mite

CHICAGO, ILL.

There is something in the make-up of people that makes them feel good when they are able to contribute something to a good cause. In my case, just being able to send you the enclosed dollar makes me feel good to the extent of your knowing my appreciation for your great and wonderful work.

My point is that, no matter how small the amount, one should contribute as often as one can with a consistence that will no doubt relieve the burdens of work connected with the publishing of a progressive newspaper.

The GUARDIAN's articles from abroad are, to say the least, priceless! **Al Leder**

Florida free press?

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

Many thanks for printing the text of the proposed treaty of friendship from Bulganin's first letter to President Eisenhower (GUARDIAN, Feb. 6). It may not seem important to New York City readers, but believe it or not, all we have read in the press here from that document could be compressed into one line.

Dr. Bernard Raymond

San Francisco was first

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Re Feb. 13 issue with a nice blurb on Open Stage's **Private Life of the Master Race,** claiming first showing in 11 years.

These eternal New York provincials!

The California Labor School (now under SACB attack) produced the show six years ago, also for a two-month run, to some S.R.O. houses. It's a great show, with some valuable insights for us still; I'm sure that San Francisco audiences would recommend it highly to the New Yorkers.

This is a Bertholdt Brecht year here: Opera Ring is enjoying a long run of **Three-Penny Opera.** Actors Workshop is ditto with the U.S. premiere of **Mother Courage** and **Good Woman of Setzuan** will be seen later in the year. **D. Sarvis**

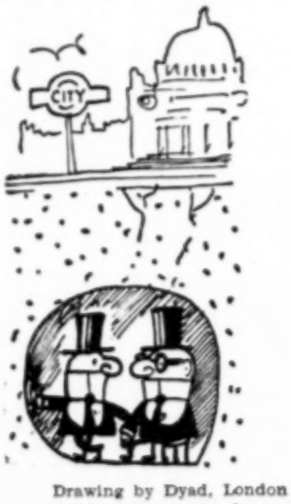
Mash note

THE DALLES, ORE.

Haven't written to you for ages, but I do want to tell you how pleased I am with the Guatemalan skirt and the evening bag from India. I've had several compliments on the evening bag. One gal remarked that it must have been terribly expensive and when I told her the price I paid for it, she could hardly believe me.

Ruth Stowell

Moral: Shop the Guardian Buying Service. Ed.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"D'ye think we're safe from our next test?"

Katharine Van Orden

NEWARK, N.J.

On Feb. 20 the American people lost one of their most devoted and valiant champions, Katharine Van Orden. Katharine's work in the League of Women Voters, in the League of Women Shoppers, in the NAACP, in the struggles of labor and in the cause of peace grew out of her fundamental adherence to essential American principles.

She became a personification of the Progressive Party. Her warmth, her energy and her sound judgment gave enlightened leadership to an organization that drew added vitality from her presence. Her loss would be tragic at any time. In these turbulent days she will be missed all the more. In their grief, her friends in New Jersey will draw fresh inspiration from her example. **Leonard S. Amada**

DuBois "first rate"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Paul Sweezey and I were very much impressed with your interesting and revealing article "How United Are Negroes?" in the Jan. 23 GUARDIAN. A first-rate piece.

Leo Huberman
Co-editor, Monthly Review

Dynamite

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Could you see that we receive extra copies of the Jan. 23 issue, with the DuBois chart of the Negro situation and the breakdown of foreign aid? What dynamite!

Mrs. Walter Rogers

From Tom Rehorn

BLUE MOUND, KANS.

I formerly directed a settlement house in Toledo and pastored at various times two churches. While in Toledo I was labeled "Red" for some work I did with the NAACP. Since being driven to the country, I have nevertheless been hounded by various FBI agents who come to town, ask a lot of questions about me, leave and wait for me to get fired again.

My last encounter with the "boys" was Monday morning, Feb. 20, the day after I had a Jewish colleague speak from my pulpit on the subject of racial understanding. A G-man by the name of Lloyd Rosander from the U.S. Immigration Service in Kansas City introduced himself, showing the proper identification, and got down to business:

"You were a Communist in Toledo and as I understand it was dropped from the party. In preparation for the deportation of several Toledo people, will you give us what information you may have about some of their activities in the party?"

"You mean," I said, "you want me to be an informer or a stool pigeon?"

He said, "Well, some people call it that." I then spent an hour lecturing him on the disrespectability of his job, the break-down of our American way of life, and my intentions of never informing, even if I had something to inform about.

I write you this, hoping you will print it or a part of it, for I want my Toledo friends in the racial struggle to know where I am and that all is well. I invite all our mutual friends to stop by for a visit.

Tom Rehorn
Blue Mound Methodist Church

LAWYERS TO FIGHT ALABAMA U. EXPULSION

Miss Lucy flies to N.Y. for rest; vows to return after medical OK

THE TRUSTEES of Alabama U. "permanently expelled" Autherine J. Lucy on March 1 alleging she made "baseless, outrageous and unfounded charges" in contempt of court proceedings against the school. Accompanied by NAACP attorneys, she flew to New York the same day. NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall said Miss Lucy planned to return to Alabama after a medical checkup and a period of "rest, peace and quiet."

The first phase of her long fight to enter Alabama U. was terminated last year, when Federal Dist. Judge Hobart Grooms ordered her enrollment. When she entered on Feb. 1, she became the first Negro student in the university's 125-year experiment with the gradualist solution of "the Negro problem." She was suspended five days later "for her own protection"—according to Alabama U. Pres. O. C. Carmichael—following hours of rioting on and about the campus.

When Judge Grooms heard the case on Feb. 29, Mr. Marshall, assisting local counsel Arthur D. Shores, moved to amend the contempt motion, striking out all references to conspiracy by the university and "outsiders." He also requested deletion of the names of four men identified as "outsiders." Marshall explained that, after careful consideration, "we are unable to produce any evidence to support these allegations."

OXCART ONLY: Judge Grooms overruled the university's objection and granted Marshall's request; rejected the school's request for a separate trial for each official. The university's witnesses against readmitting Miss Lucy charged that the case had been "calculated to incite riot" and predicted that if she went back she would "almost certainly suffer bodily harm and probably be killed." University trustee John Caddell, choking with anger, sputtered:

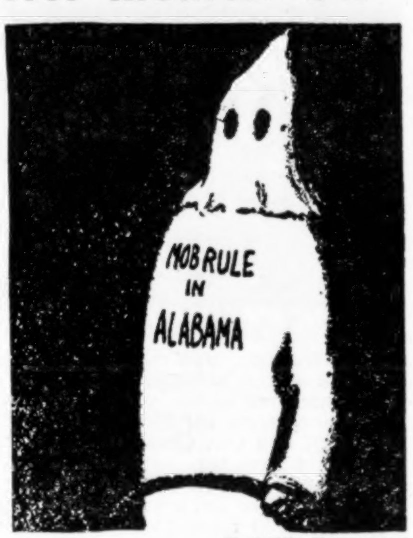
> "She drove up in a Cadillac with a chauffeur and walked about the campus in such a way as to be obnoxious and disagreeable."

AP reported that Miss Lucy in the courtroom "maintained complete outward composure . . . speaking [on the witness stand] quietly and firmly." AP said:

> "Wearing a tight, pink knit 2-piece dress, she was the center of attraction in the crowded little courtroom [divided between 100 whites and 100 Negroes] from the time she entered a few minutes before the hearing got under way."

Mr. Marshall said Caddell wouldn't have objected to Miss Lucy if, driving up in an oxcart and wearing a red bandanna for a hat, she had entered through the kitchen.

SETS DEADLINE: Judge Grooms acknowledged the warnings; said "this court does not find and does not conclude that law and order in the state have broken down." He cited numerous Southern colleges which had admitted Negroes; added that some people seemed to believe the court "should carve out a province, man the battlements and defy the U. S. Supreme Court," but "this court does not have that prerogative." Then he decreed that the university had until 9 a.m. Monday, March 5, to readmit Miss Lucy.



Nashville Tennessean

"I AM THE LAW"

The suspenseful room watched as she and counsel bent their heads together. She straightened up, looking directly at the judge: "I will go back." The trustees that night worked out a resolution demanding that Autherine J. Lucy "be and hereby is permanently expelled," because

> ". . . no educational institution could possibly maintain any semblance of discipline if any students, whether they be black or white, guilty of the conduct of Autherine J. Lucy, be permitted to remain a member of the student body after making such baseless, outrageous and unfounded charges of misconduct on the part of university officials."

A Birmingham **Post-Herald** (3/2) headline implied the school's desire that readers forget Miss Lucy was rejected on racial grounds. It read: "University Stresses Race Not Involved; Says 'Anyone' Guilty of Misconduct Would Have Been Dismissed." The N. Y. **Post** (3/2) was quick to see the trustees' act as "the flimsy pretext" she and her counsel branded it. As the **Post** made clear:

> "The men who handed down this decree are the same men who failed to take a single step against the rioting students who now flaunt the battle stars they won driving this lonely Negro co-ed off the campus."

BIGOTRY REWARDED: One of those students, 19-year-old Leonard Wilson, so impressed his seniors in the White Citizens Council with his attacks on the university's president and trustees that they made him chairman of the local outfit. Reporters quoted university officials as saying they knew of no move to discipline Wilson. His wire to the trustees on the expulsion implied smug self-confidence and mutual understanding:

> "You are to be commended for your stand on the Lucy case. The people of Alabama are proud of you. Thanks a million and please stay with us in the battle to keep 'Bama white."

Miss Lucy, unsmiling and jittery after the Alabama ordeal but apparently sustained by a reserve of physical and moral courage, repeated at a New York press conference March 2 her intention to go back. Mr. Marshall insisted that she would return only after the doctor's OK. The corps of lawyers on whose brief the NAACP won the Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow school decision, Marshall said, is "researching" for grounds on which to challenge the expulsion.

NEW MOVES: Meanwhile, these Alabama legislative developments are reported:

- Four resolutions asking (1) Congress to spread "Negroes among the several Northern and Western states, the areas where Negroes are wanted and can be assimilated"; (2) a committee to probe all disturbances in the state since the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954; (3) permission to see names of Alabama students who petitioned the university to readmit Miss Lucy; (4) that the legislature be shown the names of all the petition signers.
- Two bills in Alabama's House, one to cut off a $350,000 annual state appropriation to Tuskegee Institute if any student actually attended Alabama U. for as long as ten days; the other, to abolish an $82,500 out-of-state college fund expressly for Negroes who cannot find in the state's jimcrow colleges the courses they want.
- A bill requiring a college applicant to file affidavits from three of its graduates testifying to his "fitness and character"; affidavits from three persons "other than graduates."
- A bill making it a misdemeanor punishable by a maximum of a year in jail and $1,000 fine to file contempt proceedings "without good and sufficient cause."
- A bill—requested by Gov. Folsom—establishing a 25-member Negro-white committee "to study racial matters."

THE SCHOOL BOYS: Some representatives argued that the request to obtain the university petition struck at free speech. On the Negro-dispersal resolution a speaker said "most white Southerners" would gladly cancel debts of Negroes leaving the state. He recommended that it be made a felony for any Negro to return. Walker County Rep. T. K. Selman said the investigating commission created by his resolution would "reveal the presence of these [Communist] criminals and see that they receive the full penalty of the law." The committee's first act would be to call Miss Lucy "to find out who is paying her" to enter Alabama U.

Cullman County Rep. Brice Davis said:

> "We are acting like a bunch of school boys. We're going to become the laughing stock of everyone if we continue with this thing."

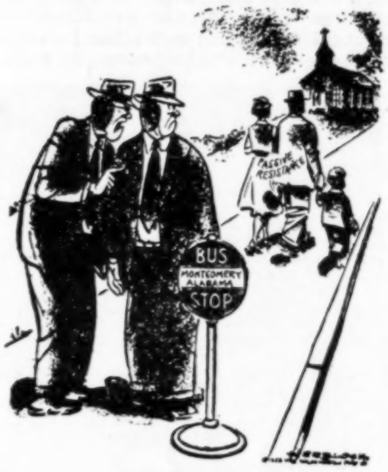
Baltimore **Afro-American** Paris correspondent Ollie Stewart (2/25) seconded the motion when he wrote that the Lucy case

> "continues to push off the front pages of many papers such things as France's troubles in North Africa, the Middle East squabbles and the death toll from icy weather across the continent."

Her picture on front pages has made her universally familiar, Stewart wrote, and her name "is a byword among young and old." In the meantime the Norfolk **Journal and Guide** has published a denial by Mr. and Mrs. Milton Lucy, both 69, that they authorized the "interview" in the Sunday N. Y. **Times** and Southern papers on Feb. 26. The **Guide** quoted the sharecropper parents of Autherine Lucy, youngest of ten, that they never taught her to "keep out of white folks' way and treat white folks with special respect." They said the white man who came asking questions didn't say he was a reporter and that he "put words in our mouths."

THE BUS BOYCOTT: Attorneys for 100 indicted Montgomery bus boycotters, meanwhile filed legal arguments March 1 attacking the constitutionality of the state law under which they were charged. Trials are scheduled to begin March 19. The charges of unlawful practice against the boycotters' attorney, Fred D. Gray, was dropped last week "because the offense for which he was indicted was committed in a Federal building." The "offense" was that one of the women who signed the petition backing his suit said she hadn't known what she was signing.

The "Deliverance Day of Prayer," called by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) the "spiritual answer to those people behind the Dark Curtain in Alabama who have cast aside the law of our country and the moral laws of God," will be observed Wednesday, March 28. He has been given five weeks leave from the Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which he is pastor, to organize prayer meetings.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Somebody from outside must have influenced them."

Disheartened but faith intact

Autherine J. Lucy made the following statement at a press conference in New York, March 2.

I CAME TO NEW YORK for the dual purpose of consulting doctors and to get a rest from the terrific strain I have been under since this case began. I had intended to return to Alabama in time for classes March 5. However, as a result of the order expelling me it appears that such a trip would be a waste of time. I therefore intend to stay in the East at least until I have had a rest. I then intend to return to Birmingham.

I am, of course, completely disheartened by the recent action of the Board of Trustees of the University of Alabama. At the same time I intend to continue not to be angry or to bear ill-will to anyone. At the same time I cannot see any reason to abandon my sole purpose of obtaining an education within the meaning of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I have been advised by my lawyers that there are legal steps available to me to test the validity or invalidity of this latest action of the Board of Trustees. I have, therefore, authorized them to take whatever steps are necessary for this purpose. I still maintain my faith in my country and there is nothing that anyone in Alabama or any place else can do which will check my faith in ultimate justice within the democratic principles.

Switches donation

NAACP headquarters in New York reported that a 1941 graduate of Alabama U. had diverted a contribution intended for the Alumni Loyalty Fund to the NAACP for legal action on behalf of Miss Lucy. The graduate wrote to the Alumni Fund:

> "Today the university stands as an object of shame and ridicule before the civilized world. Violence and bestiality are not the methods of free inquiry, which is the only reason for a university's existence."

SPRING FESTIVAL

Keep April 17 open for the GUARDIAN'S SPRING FESTIVAL at Carnegie Hall.

FOR A FAST $1

you can send National Guardian to a friend for the next 6 months.

• •

Enclosed $1, send a six month sub to:

Name ....

Address ....

City. Zone. State ....

Sent by ....

Sub Dept., 17 Murray St N Y C. 7

Ike's 'yes' . . .

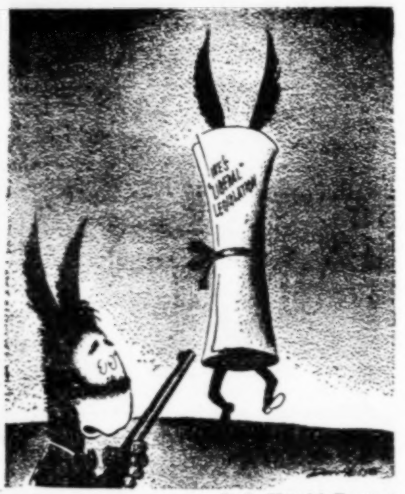
(Continued from Page 1)

disowning his claim of Republican credit for Supreme Court Justice Warren's decision on desegregation.

THE PROS & CONS: The first reaction was a flood of rumors that the skids were greased for Nixon, that Presidential Asst. Sherman Adams and the White House Corps with whom Nixon has never been popular, were easing him out. There was talk of shelving him in the Cabinet.

The Nixon regulars fired back. W. H. Lawrence in the N. Y. **Times** (3/2) cited a "highly qualified source" and Marguerite Higgins in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (3/5) quoted "the highest authority" to the effect that the President would support Nixon for the job "if he wants it." Sen. Knowland and Gov. Knight of California seemed to bury their long-standing antipathy to their fellow-Californian and pledged a delegation to his support.

In the confusion a genuine right-left split opened in the GOP. Sen. Knowland of the China Lobby and other far-right causes, demanded concessions by Eisenhower "to those who supported Taft" (Eisenhower's rival in the '52 primaries.) He said he would demand these concessions to the "orthodox" wing of the GOP as the price of unity. The immediate objective was to keep Nixon on the ticket. GOP Natl. Chairman Hall, an orthodox man, said he "assumed" Nixon would be chosen.



L. A. Herald Express

"I can't kill him—he looks like kinfolk."

THE FIGHT RAGES: Columnist David Lawrence in the **Herald Tribune** echoed the threat that the party regulars would sit on their hands unless Nixon were nominated because "Nixon symbolizes the fight against the Communists in government. For he helped to expose Alger Hiss. . . . He had the confidence of the late Sen. Taft." Ominously, Lawrence concluded that unless the orthodox were appeased, "it will be a closer race than most people today, even in the Eisenhower camp, are ready to believe."

The alarm on the right was so great that party machines all over the country telegraphed "spontaneous" endorsements of Nixon. What caused it was the relief with which the country generally hailed the President's hesitation about Nixon.

The Milwaukee **Journal** said that "many Americans with full faith in President Eisenhower do not believe Nixon mature enough, or wise enough, or straightforward enough, to be President." The Atlanta **Constitution:** "The polls show that Richard Nixon is unacceptable as a Presidential candidate. He is therefore unacceptable as Vice President." The Baltimore **Sun** called him "a political liability." The Providence **Journal-Bulletin** said the President would want to consider continuing "as his potential successor a man of 43, with little administrative experience, whose political philosophy is ill defined."

The Washington **Post** said the President "can scarcely be unaware of the undercurrent of distrust for Mr. Nixon as a divisive influence." The Baltimore **Sun** reported that Nixon "was gently but firmly pushed to one side." The Scripps-Howard press predicted cryptically: "Small men of large ambition will not fare well in November." More pointedly the N.Y. **World-Telegram** (Scripps-Howard) front-paged a man-in-the-street poll showing that two-thirds thought the President had elbowed Nixon out and more than half who thought he was out "applauded the idea." Nixon had little left but the Hearst press.

THE DEMS' OWN SPLIT: Times columnist Arthur Krock, summing up Democratic hopes said:

> "Most Democratic politicians believe Nixon would have cost the Republican ticket a million votes or more in any case, but that in the new equation created by the President's heart attack at 65, the loss could be sufficient to elect the Democratic nominees."

If the Democrats couldn't rely on a Nixon to drive away GOP votes, they could hope the effort to force him out would split their opponents. The cheering news took their minds off the yawning chasm that divided their own party. Earl Mazo in the **Herald Tribune** (3/1) asked:

> ". . . is the English language adequate to furnish words for a civil-rights plank this year that will not infuriate at least one element of the party?"

Just as Knowland orthodoxy threatened to divide the GOP unless appeased, the South continued its blackmail of the Democrats. Mazo reported a daring putsch considered by some Dixiecrats if the Democratic candidate leans too far toward civil rights. Each state party in the south would declare its independence of the national ticket, commit its electoral college vote to a "favorite son." Exercising archaic but legal privileges of the electoral college, Southerners would then prevent either the Democrats or the Republicans from winning the required 266 votes. The final choice would then be up to the House of Representatives where the Dixiecrats could command a balance-of-power position and demand concessions. The wildness of the scheme underlined their deadly seriousness.

INFORMATION INFORMAT
TRACK 21
WALL STREET JOURNAL
Dick Ericson

Wall Street Journal

"What's he saying?"

THE PREVAILING WIND: If Adlai Stevenson wins the nomination no such desperation would seem warranted. Stevenson has moved about the country making only slight changes in his emphasis to accomodate himself to the climate. In California he was an outspoken "gradualist" and opposed "forced" integration. In Connecticut he hailed "the dawn of one of our brightest days—the day of full democracy in our public schools." He prayed that no one "would assert views, no matter how deeply felt, against the laws of the land and of humanity." In Minnesota he turned from the battles of Alabama and Mississippi to caution the North to practice civil rights before preaching to the South. Even though he won the support of openly anti-segregationist Sen. Lehman, Stevenson has not yet come out for Federal enforcement of civil rights laws north or south.

Eisenhower's "yes" widened the split in the Democratic Party. Unencumbered by the Dixiecrats the President can afford more open commitments to civil rights and some Negro leaders have threatened to bolt the Democrats in his favor. To them as to other elements of the electorate Eisenhower wears a beguiling aura of non-partisanship, untainted by the corruption of his administration. His popularity seems unquestioned, but few in either major party seem willing to analyze that popularity. If they did they would reveal what the voters really want and then they would approach issues that run deeper than cardiograms and veeps.

THE BIGGEST ISSUE: George Gallup in a poll last month found that nine out of ten GOP voters, six out of ten Democratic voters, eight out of ten Independents, approve his administration. The reasons appeared in a graph of Eisenhower popularity. It started high in '52, boomed with the Korean armistice and again with the Indo-China truce and rose to an all-time peak when he attended the Geneva conference.

Yet a genuine peace policy is not regarded as a prime issue in the campaign. It can be argued that the President has more to do with the oil lobby and Dixon-Yates than he has with the coming of peace. It can be shown that the Koreans, the Indo-Chinese and the peace forces of the world did more than Eisenhower to reverse the Truman policy of containment and cold war.

But the Democrats, mourning their lost policy of Trumanism, will not make that pitch. The great debate opened instead on the state of Dwight Eisenhower's arteries, and the tender susceptibilities of Southern racists.

As in other years the major parties left to progressives a monopoly of the issues.

THEY CAME TO TELL WHAT THEY WANT

More than 2,000 delegates representing 50 organizations from 35 states registered at the Metropolitan Baptist Church, Washington, March 4, for a 3-day national civil rights conference. Highlight of the first day was the taking of testimony from the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, a leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, and Gus Courts, Negro right-to-vote advocate of Belzoni, Miss. Courts was shot from the dark last Nov. 25 as he and his wife stood in his small grocery store. Miss Autherine J. Lucy appeared briefly at the church. Tenor of the conference was set in NAACP Washington bureau director Clarence Mitchell's speech: "Tell those Democrats that if they keep a stinking albatross like Sen. Eastland around their necks they can kiss our votes goodbye." The Senate had just confirmed the race-baiting Mississippian as chairman of its powerful Judiciary Committee, through which all civil rights bills must pass. The delegates urged an 8-point legislative program including FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws.

We started the Revolution

TWO YOUNG PEOPLE spoke before a large church congregation in Wichita last Sunday. They were reporting on their attendance at a conference with Christian youth leaders from all parts of the world.

The basic message they brought back from the conference was this: We, as Christians, are letting the world's people down in their fight against oppression.

Young people from nation after nation told the Americans that the world's awakening masses no longer look to the U. S. for leadership, but more and more to Russia and her associates. In effect, they say:

"You Christians started the revolution. You taught us to love freedom and liberty; you taught us that all men are created equal in the sight of God; you showed us that we don't have to live second-class lives because our skins are brown or black or yellow. But, now you have abandoned us. No longer is the world revolution a Christian one—by default it is falling into the hands of the Communists."

These young people were appealing for more Christian service—help with hospitals, technical training, education and schools, soil-building. This is the field where American aid—call it "point four" or anything you will—can make the greatest contribution.

Ever think what it might gain America to build a thousand hospitals in Indonesia, for instance? With no strings attached.

We couldn't lose. For, even if we gained no outward political advantage, we'd have the knowledge that we helped erase suffering.

—Editorial in Wichita (Kans.) Eagle, Feb. 19.

New red scare due in Miami

ELLIS S. RUBIN, Miami boy-wonder witch-hunter, whose red-catching proposals proved too stringent for even the Florida American Legion, has announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for Dade County state attorney. Rubin at 29 was a special assistant attorney general during the inquisition of Miami progressives by State Attorney George A. Brautigam in 1954. Convictions of about 30 Dade County people for contempt were reversed by the Florida Supreme Court.

Rubin timed his announcement with an attack in the Miami press on a campaign in Dade County for support of efforts to obtain a new trial and removal from Alcatraz for Morton Sobell, scientist convicted with the Rosenbergs for conspiracy to commit espionage. A meeting at a private home for Mrs. Helen Sobell was visited by a corps of reporters and photographers who subjected Mrs. Sobell to a grilling and attempted to take pictures of guests.

Later a mailing asked local lawyers and others for funds for Sobell's appeal. Rubin termed the Sobell campaign and a tour of Florida cities by Carl Braden of the Louisville, Ky., Wade case, "collecting money for un-American causes."

A NEW INDO-CHINA IN THE MAKING?

Danger of war in Algeria seen unless Mollet finds solution soon

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

ALGERIA has top priority on the government's agenda, and the situation there takes a dramatic turn as Arab underground action becomes widespread enough to foreshadow a new version of the Indo-China war.

Although some progress has been made, the dialogue between Paris and Algiers is still a dialogue of deaf men—or rather, a monologue. Prime Minister Mollet will have no dealings with the underground. He waits for partners to a future negotiation to come out of new Algerian elections. But elections cannot be held until peace is restored, and the chances for peace **before** negotiation are growing slimmer as time goes on.

On his Algerian trip in early February, Mollet began tackling France's No. 1 problem by giving in to a few hundred well-dressed, rowdying youngsters and rejecting his own new resident minister. He left the Big Business minority of the European minority considerably reassured, and all Moslems—even the moderates—deeply disturbed. (No one asked the underground for its opinion.)

LOOK TO THE RIGHT: Last week the Prime Minister took into his cabinet two Social Republicans, Maurice Lemaire and Chaban-Delmas, members of the former Gaullist group whose name is tied to 12 months of repression in Algeria.

This last move is characteristic of the government's constant effort to keep the door open toward the Center Right and do without the Popular Front majority that remains the dominant arithmetic fact about the new House. Mollet is playing a close game. He stands to lose much on the Left, while the "friends" he may gain on the Right will desert him soon unless he abandons some main points of his own program. You can't promote a Left policy if you seek a Right majority for your support.

The Algerian problem is gigantic. The situation is so complex, and has been allowed to deteriorate so far that there is no easy solution. A few basic facts and figures will give an idea of the difficulties.

LAND AND INDUSTRY: Algeria is a poor country. Of its 500,000,000 acres, only 52,000,000 are at present arable. It is not very rich in raw materials; some regions remain to be prospected, or to be organized for exploitation. Wealth, as in any colonial economy, is concentrated in a few hands.

In industry, some powerful Metropolitan financial groups—Rothschild, Walter, the French Shell Co., and a few others—control practically all the iron, phosphate, lead, zinc and coal mining, as well as oil rights in the Sahara. Italian, Belgian and German capital is also making its appearance.

In agriculture, 20,000 European farmers (100 run farms over 2,500 acres) produce 80% of Algeria's output.

THE PEOPLE: On the other side of the picture is Algeria's Moslem population. They number 8,000,000 of the country's 9,000,000 inhabitants. One half are under 20. (The native population increases at a rate of 250,000 a year. It is an irony of 20th century colonialism that medical progress saves human lives for which the economic set-up cannot provide food or work.) Of the 8,000,000 Moslems, 95% have never been to school; 1,000,000 adults have never had any job at all, and have no prospect of finding one. And more than 5,000,000 without regular work, have a mean YEARLY income of less than $50.

Agriculture is the Algerian's main source of subsistence. But of the country's 52,000,000 arable acres, 7,000,000 of the best are European owned, 27,000,000 are state or communal property. The remaining 18,000,000 are shared by 15,000 Moslem farmers wealthy enough to work their land with modern equipment, and half a million others who work a piece of ground too small to feed them with methods that date back to Roman times. These are the lucky ones. The rest work as hired hands for less than $1 a day on seasonal jobs that employ them about 100 days a year.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEM: It is only fair to add that the situation of the native Algerian population, miserable as it is, compares favorably to that of the other Arab countries. The French have been in Algeria for 125 years. They have been far from doing all they should have, but they have made a cultural contribution that has earned them loyal friends in the past and is still their most solid card for the future.

The solution to Algeria's economic difficulties—land reform, the development of local industries on a large scale, etc.—will be slow and costly. But the Algerian problem is not only social and economic. The political aspect has come to the fore. Today it dominates the situation. At a time when Tunisia and Morocco are gaining their autonomy, when a wave of independence is sweeping across Africa and the Arab world, Algeria is becoming conscious of itself as a nation.

TWO VITAL WORDS: A year ago, when Arab guerrilla action was just beginning, I visited a relatively wealthy orange producing country not far from Algiers. The workers seemed better paid and fed than in other regions I had seen. Yet they had just put fire to a large orange-packing plant. Why? "There are two words that will set them aflame and make them forget everything else, even jobs and wages," explained a local administrator: "One is Liberty. The other Independence."

Not all the Arab underground is guided by these ideals. Some are common law criminals; others are hungry; still others are on Egyptian or Spanish pay rolls. But the rest are in fact fighting for national liberation.

The great argument against recognition of Algeria as a nation is that, contrary to Tunisia and Morocco, it has never been a nation in the past. It is a fact that the native population is made up of many groups that vary in traditions and ways of life. But this is an obstacle that has been surmounted in other countries.

THE EUROPEANS: Only a small minority of the million Europeans in Algeria—those who have amassed colossal fortunes—want to keep their privileges, and the political and economic status quo, at all costs—even at the cost of war. The rest of the Europeans work hard and live modestly on incomes below those of Metropolitan France. They have been in the country for three or four generations, their families have helped to make it a better place to live in, and they have grown deep roots there. Algeria is their country too, and any political solution will also have to take their future into account.

But a political solution must be found. Without one, there will not be peace in Algeria.

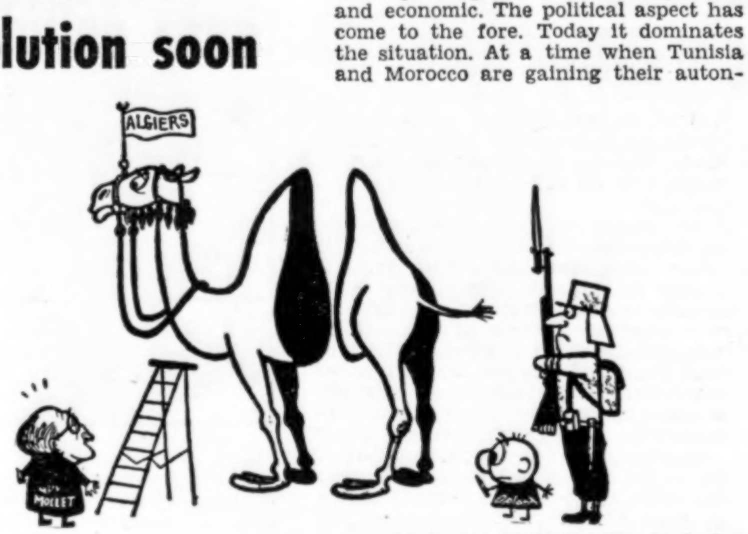
The government, for the present, is giving first priority to limited economic measures, similar to those advocated by the preceding government, and violently condemned by the Socialists during the election campaign.

A TIGHT SITUATION: Observers fear a powerful spring guerrilla offensive may break into open warfare if constructive negotiations are not undertaken within the next few weeks.

And because the misery of millions gives the underground an almost inexhaustible manpower supply, and guerrilla action needs at least a 10 to 1 superiority for the opposing army to contain it, French military authorities in North Africa are calling for more troops.

This is a precarious situation for a Socialist Prime Minister, one of whose major election promises was to bring the boys home from North Africa and restore peace there.

Algeria is more than decisive for the life of the new government; it is vital for France.



De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

Take your seat, Premier

". . . A STINKING ALBATROSS"

Eastland inherits key Senate committee post

IF THE MEMBERS of the U.S. Senate were all democratically elected for ability, statesmanship and devotion to democracy, the 175-year-old Senate seniority rule might not be too bad. Under this rule the chairmanship of each Senate committee goes to the majority party committee member with the longest uninterrupted service in the Senate.

The rule didn't work too badly when the Democrats won control of the Senate in 1954 and the veteran liberal Harley Kilgore (W. Va.), succeeded the Republican liberal William Langer (N. D.), as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

It hit bottom on March 2, though, when Sen. Kilgore died suddenly on Feb 28 and James O. Eastland (Miss.), stood next in line, having been in the Senate since 1943. Two Senators—Lehman (N. Y.) and Morse (Ore.)—opposed Eastland's succession and voted no in the voice vote. The rest were yeas and the chairmanship of the Senate's committee on civil rights, justice and the Constitution on March 2 went to the man the NAACP calls "a stinking albatross around the neck of the Democratic Party"; the Washington **Post** "a serious misfit"; the N. Y. **Times** "antediluvian."

WRONG HANDS: An early order of business for the Judiciary Committee under Eastland will be four bills proposed by Sen. Hennings' subcommittee on constitutional rights. The bills would:

- Protect the voting rights of all citizens in Federal elections and primaries.
- Make lynching, or official failure to use "all diligent effort" to prevent one, a Federal crime.
- Protect all members of the armed forces from bodily attack.
- Establish new Dept. of Justice civil rights enforcement machinery.

Each of these bills, if approved by the Judiciary Committee and passed by Congress, would correct abuses in Sen. Eastland's home state, which have outraged the nation. One of these abuses, the intimidation of voters, has assured Eastland's seniority in the Senate.

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND
He'll probe Eastlandism

LAST SMITH ACT REFUGEE

Henry Winston surrenders

HENRY WINSTON, 45, member of the Communist Party's national committee and last of the Smith Act refugees, surrendered at the Federal Court House in New York's Foley Sq. at noon on March 5. Winston was sentenced with ten other national Communist leaders indicted for "conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow" of the U. S. government. He did not appear when the others were imprisoned on July 2, 1951. Winston in a letter to the press had announced his intention to surrender. He wrote:

> "Reiterating my innocence and protesting the flagrant miscarriage of justice in my case, I now enter prison with confidence that the American people will defeat the McCarthys and the Eastlands [and] will restore the Bill of Rights to its proper place and put an end to the Smith, McCarran and other anti-democratic laws."

ROUGH RECEPTION: U. S. marshals, FBI agents and city policemen were waiting with the hundreds of Winston's well-wishers when he swung through the crowd and started up the Court House steps. He was immediately surrounded, grabbed, and rushed, almost off his feet, into the building. He had no time to wave at or even to look around for his wife Edna, their children and his mother, Mrs. Lucile Winston, who had come from Denver.

Although he had been promised permission to see his family, he was allowed to do so only after his counsel, Harry Sacher, had vigorously protested.

FRAUD, TERROR AND A KEPT PRESS

How Greek reaction 'won' the election it really lost

By John Athineos
Special to the GUARDIAN

ATHENS

PREMIER Constantin Karamanlis' pro-Western government party got a majority of the seats in Parliament in the Feb. 19 Greek elections, even though it polled less than a majority of the votes cast. Karamanlis' National Radical Union received 161 of the 300 seats with less than 46% (1,589,000) of the votes; the opposition Democratic Union, with over 50% (1,748,000) of the votes, got only 139 seats.

Karamanlis turned the trick through fraudulent electoral laws, terrorism, government control of the radio and of 13 of the 16 Athens daily newspapers.

Greeks have been increasingly demanding the release of their nation from its status as a virtual U. S. protectorate. Violent British and Turkish opposition to self-determination for the island of Cyprus and Washington's silence on this issue have convinced the majority that their Balkan Pact and NATO allies have betrayed the cause of freedom. This feeling was strong enough to force even the Karamanlis Greek government, headed by a former public works speculator, to promise not to take part in the Balkan Pact conference this month.

THE OPPOSITION JOINS: The Cyprus issue, widespread economic distress and discontent with the pro-Western policy brought about a coalition of the opposition before the elections. This took place despite the vivid memory of the 1948 civil war, the government's attempts to stifle all opposition by imprisoning thousands of men and women under horrible conditions (**GUARDIAN,** 2/20), and its incessant red-scare propaganda.

All major opposition parties joined to form the Democratic Union. This union held the monarchist Populist party; the Liberal party of anti-Communist former Premier Papandreou, who touched off the civil war in 1944; the conservative Third Force; the Liberal Democratic Union, an offshoot of the Liberals; the left-of-center EPEK founded by the late Premier Gen. Plastiras; the Democratic Workers' party (comparable to the Nenni Socialists of Italy) led by former resistance leaders; the EDA (United Democratic Left), a coalition of left-wing progressives, socialists and others close to the illegal Communist Party.

Representing the overwhelming majority of the Greek people, the Democratic Union stood for an independent foreign policy; self-determination for Cyprus; general amnesty for political prisoners; repeal of the statute outlawing the CP and other left-wing groups; economic policies to improve the people's standard of living.

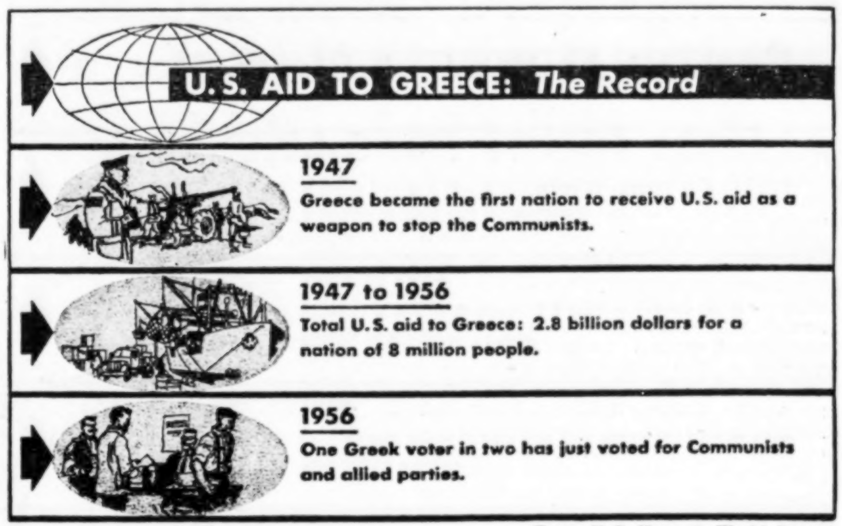
VOTING HODGE-PODGE: Faced with this formidable opposition, Karamanlis three months prior to elections, rushed new election laws through Parliament. They specified proportional representation in the big cities, where the opposition was strongest, so that Karamanlis would be sure to pick up some seats; three-quarters of the seats for the majority party and one-quarter for the minority party in smaller cities where Karamanlis was uncertain of the results; all seats to the majority party in the villages, where the government had full opportunity to intimidate the voters. Soldiers were to vote in separate polling booths supervised by officers.

In addition, the Karamanlis administration threatened civil servants with loss of jobs if they did not vote for the government. It also refused to follow the constitutional tradition of resigning and letting a caretaker government supervise the elections.

Despite these maneuvers, the Democratic Union piled up vast majorities in the big cities, with the EDA candidates in the lead. But the new laws and terrorization in the villages gave Karamanlis a parliamentary margin. However, the pro-Western strength in Parliament dropped from 214 in 1952 to 161. The Democratic Union is challenging the results in some areas.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE? Of the 139 Democratic Union deputies in the new Parliament, over a third are genuinely progressive, determined to carry out the united front program. Another third will vacillate between campaign promises and pressure from reactionary groups. The rest probably will abandon most of the coalition platform. The government party itself is far from being a homogeneous group, and there is much intra-party dissension.

The opposition's strength and the realization that most Greeks oppose it may persuade the Karamanlis government to grant some of the demands —especially political amnesty, legalizing the CP and modifying its pro-Western policy. Popular pressure may even force Karamanlis to call for new elections based on straight proportional representation. Even the influential pro-government paper **Vima** expressed gloom about Karamanlis staying in power.



U. S. AID TO GREECE: *The Record*

1947

Greece became the first nation to receive U. S. aid as a weapon to stop the Communists.

1947 to 1956

Total U. S. aid to Greece: 2.8 billion dollars for a nation of 8 million people.

1956

One Greek voter in two has just voted for Communists and allied parties.

From U. S. News & World Report

ANOTHER MURDER IN DIXIE

Negro physician is shot to death in Georgia but there are no arrests and no indictment

DR. THOMAS H. BREWER, 72, a leader of the Georgia Republican Party and of the NAACP and a nationally known Negro physician, was shot to death Feb. 18 in a Columbus department store by Lucio Flowers, part owner of the store. Neither Police Chief B. S. Moncrieff nor Dist. Atty. John H. Land would reveal details of their investigations, except to say that Flowers had pleaded self defense. They also were silent on why they allowed him to flee across the state line to the Cobb Memorial Hospital at Phoenix, Ala., for treatment of a "nervous" condition. He was arrested there and transferred to an undisclosed hospital "somewhere in Georgia."

On Feb. 29 a grand jury accepted Flowers' story that he fired when Dr. Brewer reached into a pocket of his coat. Land testified that police had found a pistol on the doctor.

SEVEN SHOTS: Negro reporters said Brewer, who was a leader in the 1954 Supreme Court case nullifying voting restrictions against Negroes, entered the F & B Dept. Store in the Negro district as Saturday evening shoppers crowded the sidewalk. He strode through to Flowers' office in the rear. Flowers shot the doctor seven times with a .25 caliber automatic.

NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins at the time was attending a weekend conference in Atlanta with other association leaders. He is said to have told Columbus police that he doubted the killing had anything to do with Dr. Brewer's NAACP activities. Columbus chapter president E. E. Farley reportedly agreed. Land was quoted: "I'm satisfied the shooting had nothing to do with any racial matter."

THE THIRD VERSION: There are three versions of what led up to the shooting. One was that the men had quarreled over political differences, the second that there had been a dispute of a personal nature.

The third version was given by Stanley Hebert, the Brewer family's attorney. He said the shooting was the outcome of an incident of two weeks earlier, when a young Negro man, pursued by policemen, ran into the F & B Dept. Store. Police broke a nightstick on his head. Dr. Brewer witnessed the beating from his office and later protested in court. Police Chief Moncrieff promised to investigate. Flowers allegedly refused to say he was a witness to the brutality. The physician, after several attempts to change his mind, decided on a showdown. The shooting came at that meeting.

Dr. Brewer was among a group of Negroes who went recently to a Columbus city-owned golf course to play. When they were barred, they petitioned to have public golf facilities desegregated. The case is pending. Dr. James A. Brewer of Detroit, a brother, revealed that the murdered man had expected to be killed, saying: "It will not be in vain." The Rev. Charles A. Hill, pastor of Detroit's Hartford Av. Baptist Church and recent candidate for Congress in Michigan's 15th Congressional Dist., said the murder was a part of the general terror stalking the South.

Strictly coincidental

"Joy Ride," revue co-produced by A & P heir Huntington Hartford at his Vine Street theatre, has lost approximately $30,000 over and above the $110,000 production cost since it opened five weeks ago.

Yesterday, the A & P chain announced it was raising the price of coffee two to four cents per pound.

Daily Variety, Hollywood, Feb. 17, 1956.

CLINTON JENCKS
A precedent for him?

CONFLICTING T-H RULINGS

West Coast reversal may affect the Clint Jencks case

TWO UNIONISTS accused of falsely signing Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits received contrasting treatment in U. S. courts this month. On the West Coast a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the conviction of A. A. Fisher, long-time member of the Intl. Woodworkers of America. But in Denver Federal Judge Jean S. Breitenstein rejected a motion for acquittal of Maurice E. Travis, West Coast representative of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, and sentenced him to eight years in prison and an $8,000 fine. The Travis case will be appealed.

The Fisher conviction was reversed on several grounds of "substantial error" committed by the trial judge, a key one being his rejection of a defense demand that the government produce FBI records showing payment of money to one of the informers against Fisher.

MAY AFFECT JENCKS: The appeals court also ruled that the trial judge's definition of "affiliation" with the Communist Party, one of two charges against Fisher, was erroneous.

The Fisher reversal cheered Mine & Mill members in the Southwest where Clinton Jencks, an organizer for the union, has been convicted on the same charge. His appeal, which the Supreme Court on March 5 agreed to hear, is based on similar issues in the Fisher case. Major witness against Jencks was Harvey Matusow, who has since admitted that he gave false testimony in the case.

Libby Burke

LOVELY, TALENTED dancer Libby Burke, wife of screen writer Richard Powell and like her husband a victim of the Hollywood blacklist, died in childbirth Feb. 25 at Temple Hospital in Los Angeles. The child also died. Miss Burke was 38, the mother of two daughters, Valerie, 18, and Jennifer, 11. Last fall Miss Burke staged "Ring That Bell," the 1955 NATIONAL GUARDIAN Revue.

Born in Newark, N. J., she came to Hollywood in 1941 as a dancer and won distinction for her professional work with dancer and choreographer Jack Cole. She was blacklisted in 1953 when she challenged the right of the House Un-American Activities Committee to inquire into her political activities for peace and against race discrimination. She had been a leader in the dance division of the Southern California Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Funeral services were conducted Feb. 28 at the Powell home in Van Nuys by the Rev. Stephen Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES ON INFLUX OF JAMAICANS

Color problem finally confronts Britain at home

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE QUIET insistence of Miss Autherine Lucy in Alabama that she has as much right to a good education as anyone else, and the violence used to prevent her getting it, have been reported here with comparatively little holier-than-thou smugness. There is a growing awareness of today's challenge to "deeds, not words" in the area of race relations, and that events in Alabama and Mississippi are an embarrassment to all in the "free world." But Britain itself now faces the challenge not only in its colonies but right on its own doorstep.

It is a new challenge because not since before 1771, when slavery was made illegal, have colored people been a familiar sight in British streets. Today there are some 100,000 non-whites in Britain, 22,000 of whom came last year from the West Indies alone.

Historically—although now increasingly less—the British have been able to plead innocent to racism because it was practised in their name far away across the world and they knew nothing about it. (Even in 1948 a survey showed that 75% of Britons questioned didn't know the difference between a dominion and a colony; 50% after it was explained couldn't name a colony, and 25% thought the colonies were mostly inhabited by white people.) But more than mental gymnastics and Nelsonian shutting of eyes is now required to maintain their picture of Britain as a land of racial tolerance.

THE COLONIALS: By shiploads of up to 800 in summertime, and of 200-odd even in this bitter winter weather, "colonial" migrants have been pouring in since 1954 for the age-old reason that home conditions are bad and they want to better themselves.

In Jamaica, British West Indies, where living costs are little lower than in Britain, wages average $7.50 a week if you can get a job, and the future looks bleak. Even British weather and the $215 fare, which takes years to save up, can't dampen the attractiveness of the $24-$30 migrants can earn here as railway workers, bus conductors, etc. To see how they were making out the Jamaican government last summer borrowed Columbia University demographer Dr. Clarence Senior from the Puerto Rican government, whose migrant services he heads in New York.

Dr. Senior looked into the sensational stories run by some of the British press, with their implications familiar to every Puerto Rican in America: that the migrants "contributed to the criminal element" and "came here to live on relief," that neighborhoods "deteriorated" when they moved in. None of this was confirmed by the record, and as for "deteriorating neighborhoods" it was because they had already deteriorated that the migrants were allowed to live in them.

BAD MANNERS: He found widespread landlord discrimination, exploitation and overcrowding, with as many as six migrants sharing one room at $3.50 weekly rent each. One newspaper issue last August carried 260 housing ads of which 46 specified or implied "no colored." Jobs, without "color differential" on wages, are comparatively easy to find although some employers and unions show frank discrimination and many migrants must take work beneath their qualifications. As anyone from a multi-racial country must, Senior noted the bland use of offensive words and pictures by newspapers and advertisers which show that British education in "racial manners" has hardly begun.

That's a very good question

Sir Walter Monckton (above), British Minister of Defense, told Commons last week that Britain is preparing plans to evacuate 12,000,000 persons, one-fourth of its population, from potential target areas, in the event of nuclear war. The problem, he acknowledged, would be "formidable." Up spoke John Strachey, War Secretary in the Labour Government: Since a bomb dropped on Liverpool would have killing power straight across the country, where would you take the evacuees? Sir Walter, according to the N. Y. Times, **did not answer.**

Here as in America the problem is not to get the colored people to behave like human beings, but to get the whites to do so. According to British sociologist A. H. Richmond the British people are "⅓ tolerant, ⅓ mildly prejudiced and ⅓ extremely prejudiced" against colored neighbors. Such a proportion of intolerance is too high for safety in light of the likelihood of an early end to the full-employment situation, and with memories remaining of race riots here during the unemployment after World War I.

There is little prospect of anti-racist legislation under a Tory government insisting that "legislation is not the answer." The British Council, a government cultural set-up, works in the field of "racial" education especially among discriminating landlords. In the Colonial Office there is a Welfare Liaison section, run by three Jamaicans and paid for by the Jamaican government, which meets ships and planes and does what it can to help migrants adjust to their new surroundings.

INTEGRATION: These efforts, together with those of many private groups which have taken up the problem in typically British style, are well-meant and good as far as they go. Conferences in which all the groups will join this spring will discuss the co-ordination of their work, but their combined potential for disinfecting racist contagions can hardly bring the fever down.

The private groups are too poor to achieve much beyond small immediate aid to migrants arriving in the areas where they function. "Racial Unity," an impoverished organization founded by Earl Attlee's sister Mary "to prevent the same things happening here" as in South Africa where she was a missionary, does some Colonial Office lobbying and sponsors extension lectures at London and Oxford universities.

The acute need, highlighted most perhaps at Christmas time when men and women from tropical lands forlornly patrol the London streets with nowhere to go, is for social centers to lessen the migrants' loneliness and to focus on the task of integration. If the government does nothing to meet it, the work of such humanitarians as the St. Martin-in-the-Fields church group with their East and West Friendship League, Major White (former mayor of Lambeth, London) with his Racial Brotherhood Assn., and the Brown Brothers in Stepney, will continue to be a gallant drop in the widening ocean of need.

MICROCOSM: The migrants' hostel and club in two slum houses in dockside Stepney, run by an Anglican religious order dedicated to total poverty and service, is indeed what its director Father Neville said to me last week: "Just a microcosm of what needs doing." With a dozen or so migrants living in the hostel, and a small, decrepit clubroom, and a night school conducted in the basement of a local vicarage, the microcosm suggests the size of the problem.

In the "schoolroom" barely heated by an oil stove, white volunteers using first-grade children's books as texts give instruction to migrants, some of whom are not yet literate enough to benefit from regular night school. Here friendly contacts between colored and white are begun and, around the hostel's dinner-table where migrants are served by one of the Brothers, a warm and neighborly atmosphere is created.

The spirit in which this work is carried on is a credit to the Brothers and to the humanitarianism which has always existed among the British people, in contrast to the urbane inhumanity of the governments they elect. But the migrant, grateful as they are for whatever help and comfort private charity can provide, have been told that they are equal citizens and seem to expect to be treated as such on a much broader level. While a few of them go back home disillusioned, the tide of Britain's "racial problem" continues to rise steadily.

The importation of Dixie-style discrimination by American army officers, who put pressure on pubs and restaurants near U.S. bases to refuse service to Negroes, does not help the situation. But through American eyes, what is most noteworthy here is that citizens can form anti-racist groups without anyone denouncing them as "communists." Insofar as this suggests hope that the Anglo-Saxons can become civilized as a race, it is hereby hopefully recorded.

RELEASED BY THOUSANDS

Czech air crash that killed 22 blamed on explosive-gas 'Free Europe' balloons

By George Wheeler
Special to the Guardian

PRAGUE

AFTER A MONTH-LONG investigation, the Czechoslovak government announced that a Czech National Airlines plane crash in eastern Slovakia Jan. 18, in which 22 persons were killed, was very probably caused by collision with a Radio Free Europe balloon released from W. Germany.

Among other evidence, investigators—hampered by heavy snow—found near the scene remnants of a balloon and leaflets inscribed "Free Europe." The plane's antenna was torn loose in mid-air some distance from the crash; the nature of the damage indicated it was not torn on impact with trees or the ground. The Foreign Ministry said the government "will take steps [to prevent] similar accidents." A sharp protest was made to Washington.

Journalists in Prague recently were shown these propaganda balloons launched by the American-financed Committee for a Free Europe. Some were 50 feet across, filled with explosive hydrogen gas. Released by the thousands, they obviously are a hazard to the airways.

1,500 LB. BAG: Newspapermen have also seen one of the huge balloons—and the automatic camera-radio equipment they carry—released by the U.S. armed forces. The plastic hydrogen bag is 160-feet across and the equipment weighs 1,500 lbs.

The balloons are designed to drift in the latitudes of prevailing westerly winds. They pass over the socialist lands taking a photograph every 5 minutes and 40 seconds for their eight to ten days aloft. The cameras automatically take a picture of the sun, a sextant reading giving the exact position at which the picture is taken.

As they drift, the cameras photograph 60-kilometer strips. Twelve such balloons could make air photos of all Czechoslovakia—and, with luck, drift clear to Japan or the Pacific Ocean where they could be picked up. Each balloon carries a transmitter strong enough to be heard around the world, and it continues to send out signals even if it lands in water.

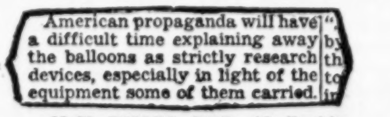
The camera housing alone is 4½ x 3 feet. The transmitter equipment is in two other large boxes; its boom is 20 feet long. A plane hitting one of these balloons could be destroyed by the impact, even if the gas did not explode.

PROVOCATION OR SPYING? The balloons release sandbags to maintain an altitude of 12,000 to 29,000 meters. But they inevitably drift lower into the regular airways. Some have landed in Czechoslovakia only a short time after their release.

Are the balloon incidents provocation or espionage? They seem to be both. If the balloon lands in "enemy" territory, the U.S. armed forces lose the pictures, but "gain" in tension. If recovered, the pictures are excellent for military air-mapping.

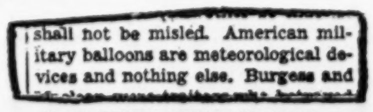
NO WEATHER DEVICES: U.S. spokesmen insist that the military balloons are for weather reporting only; but they neglected to include any weather recording or reporting instruments—not even a thermometer! A sign on the box, in Arabic, Hindi, Japanese and French (with Russian taped on as an afterthought), says it contains "weather information" and offers a reward for returning the camera box.

What will be the net effect of the balloon incidents? Washington will lose more of its few remaining friends in return for a few hundred negatives—while American taxpayers foot the bill for millions of dollars of espionage equipment that could buy a lot of schools.



American propaganda will have a difficult time explaining away the balloons as strictly research devices, especially in light of the equipment some of them carried.

N. Y. TIMES, FEB. 13, P. 16
Washington Dispatch



shall not be misled. American military balloons are meteorological devices and nothing else. Burgess and

N. Y. TIMES, FEB. 13, P. 26
Editorial

PANTY-RAIDS SUPERSEDED

The 'silent generation' on U.S. campuses begins to speak out

FOR A DECADE the quiet of the nation's campuses has been broken mainly by panty-raids; but within the last six months collegians—particularly in the South—have been stirred by other issues. What has been called "the silent generation" has begun to speak up.

Willie Morris, 21, editor of the **Daily Texan,** student paper of the Texas U., was stirring others around him. Morris comes fom Jackson, Miss., 60 miles from where Emmett Till was murdered. In his sophomore year he thought it time to "come to grips with the democratic tradition and the so-called Christian ethic." His editorials assailed the Fulbright-Harris natural gas bill, called the administration of Gov. Shivers "corrupt" and urged acceptance of the idea that "gradual" desegregation was inevitable.

Desegregation had come calmly to Texas U. with the admission of 60 Negro students last year. Editor Morris commented:

> "I'm highly pleased with my fellow students. We will have no or very little problems when more undergraduate Negroes come in next September."

YAHOO-O-O-O: The **Daily Texan** also muck-raked the Texas scene with stories on scandals in insurance and veterans' land programs. The Board of Regents (all nine members appointed by Gov. Shivers) early last month banned all political editorials in the **Texan.** Said Regent Claude Voyles, a rancher-oilman:

> "We feel the **Daily Texan** is going out of bounds to discuss the Fulbright-Harris bill when 66% of Texas tax money comes from oil and gas. We just want to hold Willie to a college yell."

Willie yelled louder. When the Regents last week forbade his reprinting editorials on the gas bill and Shivers from the **Christian Science Monitor** and the Amarillo **News,** he left his editorial space blank and printed an explanation:

> "This editorial withheld. This editorial has been deemed too controversial by the editorial director and the faculty committee chairman of Texas student publications. . . ."

WATERED PANSIES: When urged to soft-pedal controversy editor Morris obligingly called on the students to water the pansies on the campus. In a convincing demonstration of support, scores of them did. He called on them to keep off the grass and "keep off the grass" signs flourished like picket placards. Support spread beyond the campus. The Austin **Observer** denounced the Regents as "Shivercrats" and called for their resignation.

Willie Morris is a Rhodes Scholar. He plans to join a student-editors' excursion to the Soviet Union in the summer and to begin three years of study at Oxford in September. After that he wants to work on "the right kind of newspaper." He told the **Observer:**

> "They tell me at the university you have to give like a tree before the wind or you'll crack. Maybe there'll be a different light on it when you have a family and kids, but I don't think so . . . you believe something, and your family, your wife and everybody else will give you up, but you still got to believe it or you'll go crazy."

FRATERNITY ROW: Students elsewhere had a little of Willie Morris' spunk when it came to knocking down the color bar. The Sigma Phi chapter at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., pledged two Negro students. The Natl. Standing and Advisory Committee of the fraternity in January denounced the chapter for admitting two men "of obviously controversial character." The Williams chapter and the college administration threatened to withdraw. Early in February the national group reconsidered and the first Negroes were initiated into Sigma Phi.

The Allegheny College chapter of Delta Tau Delta didn't make out quite so well when it pledged a Jewish undergraduate. The chapter was suspended but is still fighting.

QUEEN OF THE CAMPUS: Students saw issues in beauty contests and football games:

- The undergraduates of Iowa State, overwhelmingly white, chose a Negro student, Miss Dora Lee Martin, for their campus queen. (Photo on p. 1).
- When Georgia's Gov. Marvin Griffin tried to prevent Georgia Tech from playing the U. of Pittsburgh in the New Orleans Rose Bowl last January, because the Pittsburgh fullback Bobby Grier is a Negro, Georgia students rioted. They burned the Governor in effigy and chanted: "Griffin sits on his brains" and "Grow up, Marv." In the end they over-ruled the Governor, played against a Negro full-back before a partially-segregated grandstand. Louisiana and Georgia survived.

CITY COLLEGE WALKOUT: At the College of the City of N.Y., students fought the screening system. When President Buell C. Gallagher last month ordered all organizations to submit their membership lists, five of the six political organizations went off the campus rather than submit. The walkout was voted by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Young Democrats, Young Liberals, Students for Democratic Action, Young Progressives of America and the Marxist Discussion Club. The vote was unanimous except for one contrary vote in the Young Liberals.

THEY'RE TALKING UP: Student conference have been speaking out since September. The Natl. Student Assn. (250 colleges) early last semester called for "immediate implementation" of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling. Southern delegates to the conference of the Student Volunteer Movement in December pledged to work for "international, interracial student Christian meetings." A Mississippi undergraduate added:

> "But they'll have to be at a Negro college—if we tried them at ours the state would come down on us like a ton of brick."

MISS AUTHERINE LUCY
N. Y. interlude—between battles

Campuses around the country solemnly considered the demand of Miss Autherine Lucy to study at the University of Alabama and from many northern schools came resolutions of support. Indiana U. was an exception. The Student Senate there called the situation "deplorable" but voted to take no stand on the issue.

CRISIS AT HOLY TRINITY

"Installation" of new rector looks like a putsch

ONCE AGAIN LAST WEEK the locks were changed on the doors of Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church and private detectives guarded every door. The long fight of Bishop James Pernette DeWolfe to oust the Rev. William Howard Melish despite the wishes of Holy Trinity's congregation had shifted from court back again to the church.

Last week Mr. Melish told his congregation that he would surrender the pulpit only as the result of a court order or if the congregation, itself, should ask him to. In that event, he said, "you have my instant resignation."

The Rev. Wm. Howard Melish
Congregation vs. Bishop

THE INSTALLATION: But Melish's "prophetic ministry" has won him congregational support which the Bishop finds unshakeable though he has the aid of a faction of the vestrymen. The Bishop appointed a minister to hold services in Holy Trinity last Jan. 16 in competition with the Rev. Melish. When that maneuver failed the controversy moved into Brooklyn Supreme Court under rulings that ordered a status quo in Holy Trinity until the courts arbitrate.

On Mon., March 5, the Bishop carried the fight back to the church itself. The anti-Melish faction changed 40 locks on the church doors and posted the guard. Then the Bishop, with 100 clergymen of the Long Island Diocese, began the ceremonial installation of a rector for Holy Trinity. He was the Rev. Herman S. Sidener who accepted after two others declined. The church was full though observers noted that few were members of the Holy Trinity congregation.

BROKEN AGREEMENT: When the Bishop reached the point in the ritual where he had to say: ". . . if any of you can show just cause why he [the new rector] may not be instituted, we proceed no further . . ." pro-Melish vestryman Dr. Phillips Brooks came forward to describe the anti-Melish action as "a show of force." Former Magistrate Hubert P. Delaney, attorney for Mr. Melish, then attempted to recall the agreement to maintain the status quo until the case was resolved in court. The Bishop cut him off asserting his "Godly judgment" is unconcerned with "legalities." Vestry clerk E. DeWitt Ramel also attempted to protest but was quickly over-ruled.

The protests were made quietly and nothing disturbed the decorum though a police captain, a sergeant, ten uniformed patrolmen and 20 detectives had been marshalled at the church. After the protests the installation ceremonies proceeded though Melish supporters disputed its validity.

PONDER NEXT STEP: The question was: who would preach from Holy Trinity's pulpit on Sunday? From a legal point of view the installation ceremonies had changed nothing. The matter was still to be arbitrated by the courts. But the Bishop's "putsch" presented problems. The Rev. Melish and his family still lived in the Rectory, but the church was closed and guarded by detectives hired by the anti-Melish faction.

At presstime the pro-Melish forces were considering next steps in opening Holy Trinity to its congregation and its own rector.

Guatemalan labor leader freed from Mexican jail

VICTOR MANUEL GUTIERREZ, exiled head of the Guatemalan Confederation of Labor, was released from a Mexican prison last week. His arrest had stirred widespread protest since many feared he would be handed over to the Guatemalan regime of President Castillo Armas for imprisonment or death.

Since the fall of the Arbenz administration in Guatemala Gutierrez has been on the staff of the Confederation of Latin American Trade Unions whose headquarters are in Mexico. No charges were made against Gutierrez and no explanation given for his detention for several days by Mexican police.

The question: Will free enterprise work?

The Paris daily "Le Monde" had this comment on the President's farm proposals:

"IT IS NOT ENOUGH to limit production; markets must also be developed. In this connection it would be most expeditious to lift the embargo on exports to communist countries. That is what the President asks for when he calls on Congress to authorize shipping part of the farm surplus to "other than friendly countries." Will the ceaseless aggravation of the crisis make Congress more liberal? One cannot forget that on several occasions it opposed sending wheat to a famine-ravaged country, India, which is not even a communist country.

"It would still be necessary that these shipments, designed to free America of a very great burden, be tied to no political conditions. The Indian government has announced . . . that it is refusing the offer of 100,000 tons of wheat because American authorities wish to control its distribution. . . .

"President Eisenhower's effort is certainly praiseworthy. It is doubtful that it will be effective and, considering the coming elections, it may seem foolhardy. In any case it shows that in the United States as elsewhere it is not easy to resolve economic problems by a strict application of the old principles of 'free enterprise.'"

EASTLAND'S FIGHT ON RELIGION

Church leader asks protests against newest attack

Religious Freedom Committee, 118 E. 28th St., N. Y. C., urges letters to Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D-O.), chairman of the Joint Printing Committee, asking public hearings where opposition may be voiced to a joint resolution to print 75,000 copies of a 100-page "Handbook" on communism published last December by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security headed by Sen. James O. Eastland. The following article on the situation was prepared at the GUARDIAN's request by Dr. Harry F. Ward, professor emeritus of the Union Theological Seminary.

By Harry F. Ward, D. D.

THE FIRST FREEDOM the Constitution says Congress may not take away from the people is the free exercise of religion.

The U. S. Senate has recently violated this provision by an action which will stop many people from freely exercising their religion, by preventing them from expressing and doing what their religion teaches them concerning the way the people of this nation ought to behave toward each other and toward the people of other nations.

The offending action is a resolution providing for printing 75,000 copies of a **Handbook on the Communist Party** prepared by the Eastland subcommittee. The subcommittee itself has already printed 6,250 copies "for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary."

The first 90 pages of this 100-page Handbook purport to contain information about the CP and its alleged "front" organizations. Of these the Handbook lists some 30 (about two dozen more than the number so designated by the Subversive Activities Control Board, whose rulings are now under challenge before the Supreme Court.)

DR. HARRY WARD
The warning is clear

ACTIVE AND TYPICAL: In addition the Handbook lists some 80 persons as "most active and typical sponsors of Communist fronts in the past." Among these are nine nationally-known religious leaders. Among the so-called "front" organizations are three described as typical of "religious fronts formed by the Communist Party." One is the Jewish Labor Council (not a religious organization but apparently so designated because it is Jewish.) Another is the one-time magazine, **The Protestant.**

The third is the Methodist Federation for Social Action, an organization which the anti-democratic forces in this nation have been trying to destroy for a decade.

The Federation was founded in 1907, originally "for social service." At that time there was no American CP, which was first organized in 1919. Neither was there a national Methodist Church. There were Methodist Episcopal Churches North and South. The Methodist Federation took its name in the hope of joining these Methodists in both areas in a common cause. The two branches finally united in 1944.

FOR SOCIAL ACTION: Policy-making and administration of the Federation have been carried on throughout its history by many distinguished Methodist ministers, with Bishop McConnell as its president for nearly 30 years. By request of the General Conference—the policy-making body of the Methodist Church—the Federation drafted, and the Conference adopted, the statement which, through adoption by the Federal Council of Churches, became popularly known as The Social Creed of the Churches.

This statement set forth the purpose "to deepen within the church the sense of social obligation and opportunity and to study from the Christian point of view social problems and their solutions." When the name was changed from Social Service to "Social Action," there was added: ". . . and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus." Can anybody imagine Communists writing this?

During the Great Depression, the Federation decided that "it rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social economic planning to develop a society without class discriminations and privileges." Later the statement was strengthened with reference to race discrimination and, in the conviction that modern war is mass murder, the stand was taken "for complete abolition of war."

In pursuit of these objectives, the Federation has declared itself "an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence." If this be Communism, the Senate will need to add to its list of Communist "fronts" the Bible, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

CIRCUIT RIDERS: There is in the Methodist Church an unofficial organization called the Circuit Riders. It was started in the South. One of its main objectives has been to deprive the Federation of the right to use the name Methodist.

Four months before the meeting of the 1952 Methodist General Conference, the House Un-American Activities Committee issued a pamphlet concerning the Federation consisting mostly of newspaper attacks on its objectives. The Circuit Riders sent copies to all the more than 400 delegates to the Conference and many other Methodist lay leaders. It naturally played considerable part in the debate.

The 1956 General Conference is due to meet in late April and May. Now comes this Senate label, "Communist front," engineered by Eastland and now before the House for concurrence in the printing of 75,000 copies of the smear.

Already the Handbook in question has been heralded by the national press services. **U. S. News & World Report** has reprinted it in its entirety; at least one large newspaper has serialized it; a mail order book firm is selling reprints for $1.

The purpose of wide currency is made clear in the concluding ten pages of the Handbook, urging—as an alternative to secret police numbering up to a million—volunteer vigilantes who will learn from 15 tests contained in the Handbook how to identify a "Communist front."

IT HAS HAPPENED: In labeling the Federation or any other group as a "Communist front," the Congress is usurping powers delegated to the executive; it is depriving such groups of due process and urging the public to vigilante action. In many a small town Legion posts will picket Federation meetings, protest its use of halls, flood the press with letters. More of Edgar Hoover's college-trained, well-dressed, smooth-talking political police will be ringing Methodist doorbells and asking for names of Federation members ("I'm a Methodist myself; don't you think it's your religious duty to be loyal to your government and give us the names?" This has happened). Clergy and laity alike will be victimized.

There are three possible remedies: refusal of the House to concur in distribution of the smear; reconsideration by the Senate (unlikely); appeal to the courts (expensive). So far none of the large church organizations has intervened.

THE WARNING: They have had their warning. The German Protestant leader Niemoller told his U. S. colleagues: "They took the Communists, but I wasn't a Communist. They took the labor leaders, but I wasn't a labor leader. They took the educators, but I wasn't an educator. Then they came for me, and it was too late."

Eastland has made it perfectly clear that he is not going to stop with the religious "left" when he attacked the NAACP as backed by "all shades of red, from the blood red of the Communist Party to the almost equal red of the National Councils of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A."

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AT ROBESON RALLY IN ENGLAND:

They fight for his right to sing

MANCHESTER, England

THE Let Paul Robeson Sing Committee of this city announced that Robeson would speak and sing via tape-recording to a mass meeting in Free Trade Hall on Sun., March 11. A distinguished group of speakers joining in the campaign to secure a passport for Robeson was to include Manchester MP's Will Griffiths and Konni Zilliacus, Liberal barrister Vaughan Davies, former British middleweight boxing champion Len Johnson, secy. H. Newbold of the Manchester & Salford Trades Council, GUARDIAN editor-in-exile Cedric Belfrage, and R. A. Cassasola, Foundry Workers Union president and member of the Labour Party natl. executive.

The musical program, in addition to ten minutes of specially-recorded songs by Robeson, was to include a chorus of South Wales miners.

A long list of citizens associating themselves with the committee "in a personal capacity" included MP's Sydney Silverman, C. Royle and Emrys Hughes, cartoonist Vicky of the London **Daily Mirror**, London Philharmonic Orchestra conductor Sir Adrian Boult, Prof. Gluckman of Manchester University, pres. Whittaker and secy. Hobson of the Musicians Union in Manchester, and dist. secys. Hatton and Scanlon of the Electrical Trades & Engineering unions.

AFL-CIO . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

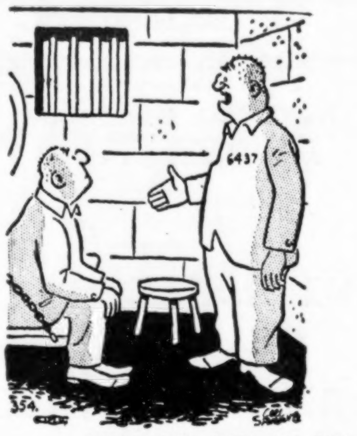
the executive committee of the NAM, in another futile effort to reach a "non-aggression" pact between labor and employers; Sligh would have none of it.

THE REPUBLIC STRIKE: Big employers in general were on the muscle; under Eisenhower strikes have tended to get rougher and last longer and some important ones have been lost by labor.

A strike of 12,000 production workers in four Long Island, N. Y., plants of the Republic Aviation Corp. (which works solely on government orders with a current $500,000,000 backlog on jet fighter-bombers and guided missiles) was marked by strike-breaking violence from its first day on Feb. 20. Before an injunction forbidding mass picketing was issued a week after its start, 139 pickets had been arrested and more than 30 others injured.

The strike was called by the AFL-CIO Intl. Assn. of Machinists; the union demanded 19½c an hour increase in wages and fringe benefits, the company offered 5c. Last week both sides agreed to meet with state and federal mediators but no progress was reported. Strike leader Justin Ostro on Feb. 28 said the strike was 99% effective despite the injunction.

WESTINGHOUSE STRIKE: More serious is the strike of 55,000 Westinghouse workers which was in its 5th month last week. The stoppage involves two unions, the AFL-CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers (44,000) and the independent United Electrical Workers (11,000). The most startling fact about the strike is that the potential power of the united labor movement was not being used in support of the strikers. The AFL-CIO executive council in its recent Miami Beach meeting announced formal support of the strike but it took no action of any kind. On the contrary, the AFL-CIO News of Jan. 14 reported without comment:



Labor's Daily, Bettendorf, Iowa

"I'm a victim of the closed shop. The cops caught me opening one at 2 a.m.!"

> "The five-year contract offer which the IUE rejected has been accepted by the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for its 8,000 members in Westinghouse plants."

In addition, five other affiliates of the AFL-CIO were working at Westinghouse under terms against which the IUE and UE were striking.

CAN THEY WIN? What financial support there was came predominantly from former CIO unions, but in many areas strike sympathizers were passing the hat for strike relief funds while AFL-CIO union treasuries remained untapped.

By Jan. 20 the United Auto Workers had contributed $270,000 to the strikers and was pledged to give $50,000 a week for the duration. The United Steelworkers early in the strike had contributed a whopping $500,000 to the strike fund. But last week a company union seeking to decertify the IUE and UE was circulating leaflets praising steel union president David J. McDonald for recent remarks in which he denounced the "futility of unneccessary strikes" and proposed instead employer-labor peace under a "mutual trusteeship" of industry.

On Sat., March 3, Federal mediators came up with a proposed compromise settlement but neither side would commit itself in advance to its adoption. As the GUARDIAN went to press, the package deal was still being discussed in Washington.

JOB SECURITY: The major issue of the strike—job security—is a crucial one for all labor; actually it is the first full-scale battle to protect job rights and wage scales against automation, the new process in which machines tend machines and displace the old-fashioned production worker. By some estimates, half the Westinghouse payroll in the struck plants goes to non-production workers—material handlers, crane operators, sweepers and the like.

The company is insisting on its right to subject these jobs to time-studies, the process in which workers are time-clocked, photographed and slide-ruled in the performance of their tasks. Such time studies invariably result in speed-up, stretch-out, pay cuts, reclassification of jobs at lower rates, and the total elimination of jobs.

The union is demanding a grievance machinery for the protection of its members and a system of arbitration to settle disputes. On this the company has not only refused to budge, but is demanding a five-year contract with no job protection.

FRUSTRATED MEDIATORS: From the start of the strike the Eisenhower administration has proclaimed a hands-off attitude which did not prevent it from citing the UE as a "communist-infiltrated" union and awarding an $8,000,000 contract to Westinghouse. Mayors, governors, senators and groups of private citizens have vainly sought to submit the strike issues to arbitration or fact-finding.

Federal mediators on Feb. 10 abandoned in despair their attempts to settle the strike but ten days later called both sides to Washington for an "all-out effort." They even summoned Westinghouse president Gwilym A. Price who from the beginning has refused to participate in negotiations; on Feb. 28 he said merely that he had had a "cordial discussion" with the mediators.

There was little question that the 15,000,000-strong AFL-CIO could win the strike in short order if it put all its resources behind it, but as of last week labor unity wasn't yet paying off where it counted most: on the picket line. Mr. Meany doesn't like strikes.

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SUN., MARCH 25 .... SANTA MONICA
WED., MARCH 28 .... SAN DIEGO
THURS., MARCH 29 .... LONG BEACH
(Morgan Hall, 835 Locust Av., Long Beach)
SAT., MARCH 31 .... EAST SIDE, L. A.
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SUN., APRIL 1 .... NO. HOLLYWOOD

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Bay Area Itinerary

TUES., MARCH 20: Radio Interview, KPFA-FM, Berkeley, 8:30-9 p.m.

•

THURS., MARCH 22: San Francisco, speech on "The World Since Bandung" and films of the Bandung Conference and Nehru's tour of the USSR. Panel Room, 150 Golden Gate Av. Door Contribution: 50c.

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FRI., MARCH 23: Palo Alto, speech on "The World Since Bandung" plus films. Community Center, 1305 Middlefield Rd. Admission free.

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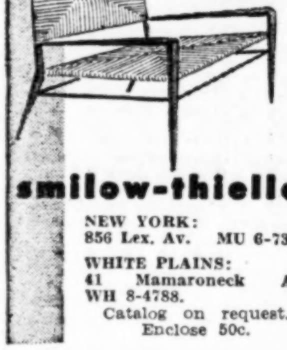

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The Negro Press

NEGRO NEWSPAPERS every March 15-21 buy radio and TV time and tell how, in the New York City of 1827—the year New York State abolished slavery—John B. Russwurm, first Negro college graduate (Bowdoin), printed the first U. S. Negro newspaper, **Freedom's Journal**, to crusade against slavery in the South.

Norfolk (Va.) **Journal and Guide** founder Bernard P. Young told a **Time** interviewer in 1949 that if the white newspapers adequately reported Negro news and crusaded against all injustices "they would take away the . . . reasons why Negro newspapers exist." **Newsweek** later noted "marked improvement in the coverage of [Negro] news by Southern [white] newspapers." However, it predicted no early demise of the Negro press. Present **Guide** publisher Thomas B. Young, the founder's son, told **Pageant** (4/52) that Negro journals were still essential "organs of protest."

WHO'S WHO: There are two daily, four semi-weekly, three bi-weekly and 185 weekly Negro papers in 32 states, the Dist. of Columbia and Alaska. They sell for 10 to 20 cents a copy, total about 1,500,000 paid circulation and approximately 5,000,000 readers. The leaders are N. Y. **Amsterdam News**, 50,502; Baltimore **Afro-American**, 179,662; Chicago **Defender**, 89,657; **Journal and Guide**, 45,120; Pittsburgh **Courier**, 156,149.

The nationally-oriented Negro papers print the same general news—Associated Negro Press and NAACP releases, mainly. The **Afro-American**, based in Baltimore, publishes Newark, Philadelphia, Richmond and Washington editions; the Pittsburgh **Courier** has 15 community editions. Each has an identifiable personality: combined political opinion, special features and columnists. None fits in any special political vestpocket.

The **Afro's** editorial page is probably the most distinguished in the field. It reflects a policy which—unlike, for instance, the **Courier's**—is invariably forthright and honest in its defense of the Negro people's best interests. It prints full-length, outspoken letters with a cross-section of opinion; its columnists comment authoritatively from Washington, New York, Paris, and strategic Southern points; the "free-world" cliché is found often in the **Courier**, seldom in the **Afro**.

JESSE B. SEMPLE: The **Defender** individuality is known for its "Bud Billiken" club's full page of photos, cartoons, stories, letters, puzzles, and quizzes for children; its wry and flippant "National Grapevine" observations on the Washington scene; its columnists Langston Hughes, whose fictitious Jesse B. Semple comments on the American way of life in a way understandable to all Negroes; and Roi Ottley, author of **New World A-Coming**. The late Walter White and Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune were both **Defender** columnists.

"Definitely opposed to the frontal attack," **Journal and Guide** editors believe in "negotiation, conciliation and persuasion." The formula sometimes fails, and the **Guide** then shifts to "frontal," as when it challenged Southern custom by naming the white woman principal in an alleged rape case in its efforts to prove that the man accused was innocent. A white man read the **Guide's** version and gave information proving a frame-up.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER: The **Courier** features material like P. L. Prattis' "Ways of White Folks," showing "why it is difficult for [Negroes] to be friendly"; UN correspondent Horace R. Cayton's plaint that the U. S., "in its anxiety to 'contain' Russia and to protect the 'Free World' . . . [seems] actually willing to deprive colonial peoples of . . . political freedom"; J. A. Rogers' observation that "the indictment of eight couples in Louisiana—six Negroes with white women and two whites with Negro women—is a reminder that the next big social question that ought to be brought before the Supreme Court is: Who is white in America?"

Courier associate editor and columnist George S. Schuyler, according to a story wholly believable to anybody who knows him, blurted in exasperation when greeted as "the black Westbrook Pegler": "Why don't you call **him** 'the white George S. Schuyler'? I was expressing those views while he was still writing sports." Schuyler is an antiquated fixture in the up-to-date **Courier**.

Henry Lee Moon, public relations director of the NAACP, spoke the truth when he said in a recent speech on "Negro Leadership and the Negro Press":

> "The vast majority of the Negro newspapers stand firm with Negro leadership advocating the abolition of segregation **now**. Gradualism has few adherents among either the leadership or the press. By and large, the leadership and the press are in accord as to the various tactics being pursued to gain this objective. These include not only the spectacular legal attack upon segregation, but also political action, legislative measures, educational programs, and direct negotiations to improve the status of the Negro in our society."

A rounded view of U. S. life is not possible without this press.

—Eugene Gordon

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